

## Episode 04: The Haudenosaunee influence on the women's movement with Sally Roesch Wagner

Jordan Loewen-Colón ([00:00](#)):

Hello, and welcome to The Mapping the Doctrine of Discovery podcast. The producers of this podcast would like to acknowledge with respect the Onondaga Nation, Firekeepers of the Haudenosaunee, the Indigenous peoples on whose ancestral land Syracuse University now stands. And now introducing your hosts, Philip Arnold and Sandra Bigtree.

Philip P. Arnold ([00:30](#)):

Welcome back to The Mapping of the Doctrine of Discovery podcast. I'm Phil Arnold.

Sandy Bigtree ([00:37](#)):

And I'm Sandy Bigtree.

Philip P. Arnold ([00:39](#)):

And we're very happy to welcome our guest, Sally Roesch Wagner. Sally, who is an old friend, is the executive director of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, and has been involved in the Gage Center For Social Justice Dialogue. She's the author of, *We Want Equal Rights: The Haudenosaunee Influence on the Women's Rights Movement*, and the editor of *The Women's Suffrage Movement*, Penguin's Classic book from 2019.

Philip P. Arnold ([01:13](#)):

Sally, we're just so delighted to have you here today to talk about this issue. It opens up this conversation into women's rights and the history of the church and relationship to women, women in Europe, and around the world. I wonder if you could give just a brief bio of your own work as related to the Doctrine of Discovery?

Sally Roesch Wagner ([01:38](#)):

Well, Phil and Sandy, it is a delight to, once again, be with you. I'm always joyful when I am able to spend time with you. My work on the Doctrine of Discovery, really centers around looking both at that and at the papal bulls that were issued at the same time, that called for the destruction of Witches, Wise Women. The analysis that I've come to is that... I'll jump right into it.

Philip P. Arnold ([02:13](#)):

Right? That'd be great.

Sandy Bigtree ([02:14](#)):

Please do

Sally Roesch Wagner ([02:16](#)):

I think Matilda Joslyn Gage, who is my intellectual mentor from the dead, believed that there were political religions and Christianity being a major one. The analysis that she had was that they are about power and not virtue. They're about power and not morality. And if we look through that lens at early Catholicism, cementing power in the world, if you want to take control of human beings, you can control two things and you will have virtually absolute control of them.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([03:03](#)):

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One of them is if you control the creation of life, if you control reproduction. The second is if you control the reproduction of daily life, the food, the water, the essentials that we need to survive. If you control land, if you control Mother Earth, you have in controlling those two things, the reproduction of life and the reproduction of daily life, the ability to essentially control human beings.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([03:40](#)):

And that is precisely what I think the Doctrine of Discovery, those papal bulls, giving the church control of land, control of Mother Earth, and the papal bulls calling for the extermination of women controlling their own reproduction. And that is looking at those papal bulls and looking at the Malleus Maleficarum, the sort of Witch burning manual.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([04:08](#)):

What they're really concerned about is women taking control of reproduction. And so the lens through which I look at this is, this is really about control of human beings. You control women and you control Mother Earth, and you got it.

Sandy Bigtree ([04:29](#)):

I would like to backtrack a little bit that this country was founded on the doctrines of Christian discovery and it pretty much underlies property law today. And then I want to talk about the area of study you focus on with Matilda Gage.

Sandy Bigtree ([04:48](#)):

In the Women's Rights Movement, Matilda took a different stance. She was pretty much awe struck with women having authority and stature among the Haudenosaunee. And you had said repeatedly, Women understood themselves to be subservient to men." Because what happened in Europe with the doctrines preceded the discovery of America. So when the women came here, their eyes were literally opened when they observed the Haudenosaunee and this role, prominent role, that women held in being the foundation of the culture in society.

Sandy Bigtree ([05:27](#)):

Gage was outspoken. She spoke a lot about the Haudenosaunee, this culture that predated Christianity and colonialism, and you were drawn to Gage and this is pretty much your focus in the Women's Rights Movement. What was hit most profoundly was the Haudenosaunee women did not speak of themselves as having rights. It wasn't even a concept. It was an integrated responsibility of life.

Sandy Bigtree ([05:55](#)):

So I know that Gage has pretty much swept under the carpet. Maybe you could talk something about that and what she faced in having this critical take on Christianity and in actually the women's movement?

Sally Roesch Wagner ([06:08](#)):

Hmm. You asked me to speak about my first love.

Sandy Bigtree ([06:13](#)):

Right.

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Sally Roesch Wagner ([06:15](#)):

Matilda Joslyn Gage. Let me start maybe with Gloria Steinem's analysis, "This was a woman, the woman, who was ahead of the women who were ahead of their time." And I think as a prophet, as a visionary, she was not understood at her time and during her time. And she really speaks to us today because she was speaking to the future.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([06:43](#)):

She, in the end of her major work, *Woman, Church, and State*, she describes a revolution such as the world has never seen. And it is women against church and state. Every existing institution will be destroyed. The result will be a transformed world.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([07:04](#)):

She envisions the end of patriarchy. She envisions the end of capitalism. And the reason I know that is because when she and Elizabeth Katie Stanton were analyzing, what's the importance of the vote? They said, "The vote is simply a tool by which to lift the fourfold oppression of women at the hands of the church, the family, the capitalist, and the state."

Sally Roesch Wagner ([07:34](#)):

And if we look at that, they put church first. Gage said, "The church, Christianity, is the foundation of women's oppression in the West." And the corollary was the foundation of Christianity is the oppression of women. Stanton put it this way, "You take away the woman. You take away the apple. You take away the serpent and you pulled the rug out from under Christianity."

Sally Roesch Wagner ([08:09](#)):

The foundation of Christianity is the story of Eve, the bringing of evil into the world. If Eve had not brought evil into the world, there would be no need for a Christ. There would be no need for salvation. We'd still be in the Garden of Eden. So the idea of woman being the creator of evil is at the foundation of Christian theology. That was the analysis of Gage and Stanton.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([08:37](#)):

So if we look at the state, interestingly, at the time of the revolution in this country, the American Revolution, or shortly before the English common law code had been strengthened and codified by a jurist named Blackstone.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([09:01](#)):

Now Blackstone was a judge in the Witch Burning Trials. And what Blackstone came up with was to define women, in the common law code, as dead in the law once they married. They ceased to exist legally. They had no existence, which meant that, of course they couldn't do a simple thing like vote. They had no right to their possessions. They had no right to their children.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([09:34](#)):

Husbands could will away an unborn child on their deathbed. They could will that child, once it was born, to someone else to raise. So the position of women in the United States was non-entities, legally. And that manifested itself in their whole lives. And religiously as evil, the source of evil in the world.

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Sally Roesch Wagner ([10:08](#)):

So when they saw Haudenosaunee women, and the Haudenosaunee civilization, they saw the mirror opposite of their own world. The absolute mirror opposite. Women, instead of being the creators of evil were the creators of the Earth, of Mother Earth.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([10:30](#)):

Women, instead of being under the authority of men were, and equality is a term that only makes sense in the West. It only makes sense in an unequal world, they had, as you say planned mother, it wasn't her right to choose the chief, nominate, hold him in office and remove if necessary. That was her responsibility. And the chief had equal and balanced responsibilities.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([11:02](#)):

So women who had absolute authority of the decision about when children would be born. It was women who lived in the world that gave Matilda Joslyn Gage and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, I want to point to these two women and I'll tell you why in a minute, it gave them a vision of a world, not that was like, "Wouldn't it be great if a dream." This was a world in practice that they saw in practice.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([11:39](#)):

Now, if that's not transformational in terms of your thinking, but how were these the two women who saw it? And the reason I think is because they had divested themselves of Christian belief. They were no longer under the authority of Christian faith, which said, "If it doesn't make any sense to you, it doesn't matter. You must believe these myths." And they have rejected those Christian myths. And so I think they were able to see imperfectly through lenses of racism, as I continue to see today, it's embedded in our culture.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([12:24](#)):

So we can only see as far as we, as a culture, have rid ourselves of racism and their vision was not perfect, but they saw a world in harmony and balance. Matilda Joslyn Gage said of the Haudenosaunee, "Never was justice more perfect. Never was civilization higher."

Sandy Bigtree ([12:48](#)):

At this point, I would like to interject that we have a Peace Center here called Skä-noñh the Great Law of Peace Center. It's where peace came to the Haudenosaunee thousands and thousands of years ago. And part of that process of peace making among these peoples that were kind of at war with one another, well, seriously at war with one another, Peacemaker came and he was able to turn it all around and help bring them back to peace.

Sandy Bigtree ([13:20](#)):

And Sid hill today, the current Tadodaho of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, reiterates that peace can only be obtained when you're in proper relationship with the natural world. So one of the key elements in restoring peace and integrating a more regenerative kind of relationship with the Earth involved women reconnecting to the Earth through their clan. And then the Peacemaker said, "This was very vital to laying the foundation of peace, this sacred bond to the Earth."

Sandy Bigtree ([13:59](#)):

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And so when the founding mothers of the Women's Rights Movement, their eyes were not only open to the role of women, they also saw pure streams where you could dip a cup into the waters and drink in many places still on this continent. The connection to the Earth and having equality with the beings of the Earth is really foundational. And the women saw this and felt it, and how to integrate that into what was happening with Europeans coming in to commodify the Earth was kind of butting heads.

Sandy Bigtree ([14:48](#)):

How do you even traverse that kind of reality, seeing it coming in bombarding their way of life? And that it was going to create such destruction among the Native people of this continent. I think Gage saw it, because she's trying to think past it and through it to stop it and bring people aware of this, right?

Sally Roesch Wagner ([15:09](#)):

She did write about the abundance, of the Haudenosaunee living in a world of abundance. And she described the women as the agriculturalist that they would, I think her, her poetic description was, "They would tickle Mother Earth with a stick and she would laugh forth abundance." And I think she was in the beginning stages of seeing that destruction. And I think the culmination of it is the world that we live in now. The world that we now know we are on the edge of the end of life on the planet and that if we continue in this trajectory, that's the inevitable end.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([16:07](#)):

And I think that she began the process of seeing that the key to peace with other human beings and the key to peace with other living entities and the Earth was the absolute role of women. When she wrote about how the women were the ones who ultimately had the decision of peace and war. And that made absolute sense to her after having gone through the Civil War that women are not going to be as quick to send their sons off, the ones that they have given birth to, in an unnecessary death.

Philip P. Arnold ([16:55](#)):

And to think that at that time they would've had the foresight to, as you say, rid themselves of Christianity, that became an important precondition for really appreciating the role of women among the Haudenosaunee. Where Christianity, or Christians of the time, I'm just thinking of, for example, Johnson v McIntosh in 1823, the prevailing wisdom of the time was that Native people were in the way, primitive. They were contrary to civilization, and yet these women are, and particularly Gage, are seeing that this kind of Christocentric notion of the primitive or the Pagan is holding back human beings from a complete and full and balanced life.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([17:54](#)):

Absolutely. And I think Christian exceptionalism goes hand in hand with white exceptionalism, that it's the foundation for it. And the creation story of Christianity that God create... The first story in Genesis, of course, God creates man and woman equally. That one gets no play in terms of the history of Christianity. Everybody picks up on the second story, the Eve story. And when God gives Eve her punishment, that she will give birth in pain and sorrow, and incidentally Witches were burned because they relieved the pain of childbirth, and they obviously were doing the work of the Devil, but, "In pain and sorrow, you will bring forth children and you will be under the authority of your husband." And that edict of authority is all the way through the New Testament.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([19:00](#)):

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Elizabeth Katie Stanton quotes everything all the way to St. Paul with the same story, the same edict, the same mandate that women are to be under the authority of men. So Christianity creates this pecking order and first it's God. And then the Pope is the direct representative of God, incapable of sin and made infallible in the 19th century. And then you have the priesthood, then you have men, then you have women underneath that. And then you have all living beings.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([19:37](#)):

Well, Adam is given dominion. Now progressive Christians today say, "Well, dominion really means responsibility for." But that sure as hell is not the way Christianity has interpreted that. It's dominion has meant, "We can do anything we want with entire nations of beings. We can murder entire nations." Passenger pigeons were so thick in this area that Gage's son talked about knocking them out of the air and his mom making pies out of these little, teeny, tiny passenger pigeons, knocking them out of the air with a stick. The air would just be thick.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([20:27](#)):

This entire nation, billions of human beings, completely murdered genocide. So I think that Christian idea that you have dominion over the Earth and Adam's punishment, basically because he listened to the Serpent and Eve, is that he is to go to war with the Earth. It's, "You're going to bring forth food from the soil and it's going to be tough, baby."

Sally Roesch Wagner ([21:02](#)):

Setting up warfare with Mother Earth and absolute authority to do whatever you want with any other living being is, I think, the foundation of Christianity and we see that played out in the world today.

Philip P. Arnold ([21:20](#)):

Well, also what you're describing too, is the pre-condition for global capitalism in the form of consumerism, which is really kind of a late 19th century formulation that then we've inherited from the 20th century.

Philip P. Arnold ([21:39](#)):

So these women were also kind of predicting that if you have this hierarchical model of a human relationship to the Earth, then that really sets up a relationship in which human beings are free to take whatever they want.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([22:00](#)):

Exactly.

Philip P. Arnold ([22:01](#)):

And exploit it to the degree that they feel they need. And this becomes a self, of course, self-defeating and we end up with Climate Change. So these women are understanding, with the help of the Haudenosaunee, are understanding that where we are today is just untenable, it's not viable.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([22:26](#)):

Toward the end of her life, it's interesting, I think that sometimes you can follow the progression of progressive people or of activists. That as you become more and more and more aware of what's going

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on, you see more and more what the problem is. And Stanton starts out, "We got to have rights for women." She ends up her, her motto at the end of her life was, "The few have no rights to the luxuries of life while the many are denied the necessities."

Sally Roesch Wagner ([23:05](#)):

So Gage similarly, she begins to see the evil of capitalism and its effect on human beings at least. And now we see the manifestation of it in its advanced stages.

Jordan Loewen-Colón ([23:22](#)):

Do you need help catching up on today's topic or do you want to learn more about the resources mentioned? If so, please check our website at [podcast.doctrineofdiscovery.org](http://podcast.doctrineofdiscovery.org) for more information. Now, back to the conversation.

Philip P. Arnold ([23:41](#)):

Yeah. And how do we grapple with this now? I think your work on this history is helping us to think through how we came to be here and what some of those solutions might look like.

Philip P. Arnold ([23:54](#)):

Before we get into that, though. I'd like to ask you to take us back to the 15th century, again. Who were these Wise Women that were being persecuted by the inquisition? Because much of what we're talking about is the elimination of these Indigenous peoples of Europe and their leaders. Much of what we're talking about is an authority structure that is indigenous to Europe, led by women oftentimes, that was perceived to be an opposition to the authority of the church and the aristocracy.

Philip P. Arnold ([24:35](#)):

So can you take us back a little bit to the 15th century, to this really important moment in human history when there's an assault on Indigenous people's that's pre American?

Sally Roesch Wagner ([24:50](#)):

Yeah. Matilda Joslyn Gage, again, my mentor in Woman, Church, and State, her analysis is that the... Let me just back up a minute and think this through. She starts with the idea that indigeneity is pre-Christian, is widespread, and that the process of the burning of the Witches was a process of exactly what you're saying, the destruction of indigeneity and hitting at the heart of the spirituality of it, hitting at the heart of women who, if there is such a thing as faith, if there is such a thing as connection to the Spirit World, these were women who had it.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([25:51](#)):

And the church could not allow that. If the church was to control Spirit, it had to destroy Indigeneity because Indigenous connection to the Spirit was real. And the church's connection to spirituality was power. In order to entrench power, these women had to be destroyed.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([26:18](#)):

There was initially, when the first Pope issued an edict, there was, or one of the papal bulls, there was widespread resistance to it. I think it was in Northern Germany, but the pressure was relentless. And one of the perks for the church was that they would single out women who had wealth, the wealth of



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those women would then go to the church. John Mohawk had a really interesting analysis. He said, "It was the wealth of the Witches that bankrolled the invasion of the Americas."

Philip P. Arnold ([27:00](#)):

Oh, that's fascinating.

Sandy Bigtree ([27:03](#)):

Whoa.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([27:03](#)):

And that makes real sense.

Philip P. Arnold ([27:06](#)):

Yeah, there's a real investment in the culture centers. The cultural centers that then is appropriated by the church and by the, well, what we'd call the state now, but by the Kings and Queens.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([27:22](#)):

And the burning of the Witches, or the destruction of the Witches, continued on. It was taken up by the state and then brought of course into the US. And this was really an interesting find, when I found, I'm trying to think he was one of the early ministers. I'll have to think of his name in a minute. But when he was sort of questioned about his naming of Witches in Massachusetts when he identified, I think it was the wife of the governor, as a Witch. And it was sort of like then he had to really justify what he was doing.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([28:09](#)):

And the way he justified it was this, he said, "The Devil had control of this entire land until Christians arrived here. And so the Devil is losing his land base and he's desperate. And so he turns to the most evil, those who will most listen to his words, and that of course is women."

Sally Roesch Wagner ([28:39](#)):

And so when he was asked to justify, "Why are you naming these women? What are you doing? It's just women, women, women." That was why, "They're the ones that the Devil turns to retrench his land from the Christians who are taking it over."

Philip P. Arnold ([28:58](#)):

Wow. Well, what do you think of this term Witches then? Is that a category that we should be using?

Sally Roesch Wagner ([29:10](#)):

Well, I think Gage and Stanton defined them as Wise Women. I think Gage has a whole chapter on Witches in her Woman, Church, and State. She estimates that there were 9 million women, now that figure has since been discredited by scholars, it was way less than that, maybe in the hundreds of thousands. I don't know. I have not done the research in that to know the figures, but the description of the women that were targeted, they were midwives. They were women who knew herbal healing. They were women who were connected to Spirit.



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Sally Roesch Wagner ([29:57](#)):

I'll tell you a personal story from my own family and my own tradition. My father's people are Germans that immigrated to Russia in the 1700s and then to the United States. In Russia for two centuries, they lived in these intact German communities and then brought a lot of those traditions here and one of them was Brauche.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([30:26](#)):

And I found out about this from, I belonged to a Germans From Russia organization, and the women were talked about she'd cut her arm really seriously and they took her to her grandma who was *Brujería* and her grandma prayed over her, Christian Catholic prayer, put a white cloth over it, told her to go to sleep, she came back.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([30:53](#)):

Her grandma took the cloth, which was now brown, off the cut. And there was nothing there. It's totally healed. My people have those stories that continue today. These Brauche continue in fairly intact German, Russian communities in South and in North Dakota.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([31:15](#)):

Well, those were Witches because when I was asking when there were a group of older women talking about this, and I said, "What is this *Brujería*?" And they just with one voice went, "Shh! We don't talk about that. That's Witches." So I think that tradition, Curandero, the Spanish tradition of healing, of spiritual healing. I think that Matilda is describing that as part of what the women were destroyed for.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([31:49](#)):

So it was their wealth, it was their beauty, it was people that were jealous of them. It was a wholesale gynocide, some feminist scholars have called it. And it was an attempt to destroy indigeneity. It went underground and was never completely destroyed.

Philip P. Arnold ([32:11](#)):

So in history of religions, we might call them Shamans, which is a Siberian term, but has been applied to various, not just people who heal, but also people who have knowledge. But I do like the term Wise Women, because they're wisdom keepers. In the tradition of the Haudenosaunee as well, faith keeper, that sort of thing.

Sandy Bigtree ([32:44](#)):

When I talk of Indigenous spirituality, I'm seeing it as through the materiality of the Earth. It's not just a faith based practice.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([32:57](#)):

Mm-hmm.

Sandy Bigtree ([32:58](#)):

Because the knowledge of the beings of the Earth are what we have to establish that proper relationship with. It's an interactive healing. It's not just something that's conjured up in your mind as a belief. So

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that's what, again, draws the power. The regenerative Spirit of the Earth is through this hands on ritualistic way of living in balance and giving and taking of all these beings that sustain your life.

Sandy Bigtree ([33:31](#)):

It's much more complicated. And if you're going to commodify the Earth, you need to break that down. So that spirituality just becomes a belief system that's separate from the knowledge that these Ancient Women had and the Indigenous people here still have in some communities.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([33:53](#)):

That's really important, Sandy. Thank you for that. If Spirit lives in the Heavens, like God that white guy with a beard up in the clouds, rather than Mother Earth, Spirit, living in the Earth, and what do we call the Earth? Dirt. There's nothing lower than dirt. You've got a dirty mind, you've got dirty hands. It's associated with the most, I don't know, evil or unacceptable, profane, to break that spiritual basis of the Earth was a critical part. Thank you. I hadn't thought about that.

Philip P. Arnold ([34:46](#)):

The last little bit here, I'd like to talk about how your work, because your work has been really just so powerfully received around the world really, and has been transformative in so many quarters and teaching class, you see students sort of reeling from what their future might hold for them. They're all concerned, we're all concerned about where we're headed and that sort of thing, but you remain hopeful.

Philip P. Arnold ([35:20](#)):

And I think that in the last little bit here, maybe we could reflect on some of the things that we might, that this knowledge about the role of women and women's liberation might have for the entirety of the possibility of our having a future. What do you think about that?

Philip P. Arnold ([35:42](#)):

Not, maybe a solution. I'm not asking about solutions, that's probably too much, but trying to think about what kind of positive things that we can work on or work toward?

Sally Roesch Wagner ([35:57](#)):

Yeah. Well, I first want to say that, thank you for that statement about my work, but the reality is that I am simply the opening act. I think one time when Pete Jemison introduced me, he said, "Well, this is something we've always known, but it took a white scholar to come along and put it out into the world, so it was heard." So I think that's really my role is to... I can't speak about Indigenous culture, obviously from the center of it, and that's the real voice.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([36:34](#)):

And that gets to where my hope comes from and where the direction that I see. That I've just finished a manuscript, *Survival is Indigenous*. That's just plain and simple, to me, the deepest truth, I know. That the Western way, it's an experiment that is leading to the end of life on the planet. It has no other way to go.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([37:02](#)):

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We, as white folks, don't have answers. I'll speak for me. I don't have answers because I am culturally bound. In much as I try to shed, as much as I try to decolonize my mind, it's there. The racism will be with me till I die. Even though I really work at being a recovering racist and an emerging ally.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([37:37](#)):

But the voices of wisdom that can take us into the future are doing it now. It's not like we've got to figure out a way to. It's that shut up and listen. The wisdom remains, even though religion and governments attempt to destroy it systematically, has never completely succeeded. And those voices are the most important in the world today. Those voices are the ones that have thousands of years of knowledge.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([38:21](#)):

And it requires a couple things, just quickly that I see it requiring, is that I have to stop binary Christian thinking, good evil. It is both and. And that is the complexity with which we have to move forward.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([38:40](#)):

The other thing is that we have to undergo a change in our spiritual base, if you will, that as long as we... I think Leonard Cohen said, "It sinks beneath your wisdom like a stone." And that I think is what Christianity does. I was raised in a Christian tradition and it taught me to think in certain ways and to see myself in exceptional ways. And I have to rid myself of those in order to, like Gage and Stanton, see the wisdom in front of me, that is the path to follow.

Sandy Bigtree ([39:25](#)):

Well, I just want to interject. If the opening act is not on target, it can be the finale and you have opened the door and we do need to stay talking about all of this cross culturally from both sides. Or we're not going to figure out how to get through this.

Sandy Bigtree ([39:44](#)):

And your work has opened the door in Gage in bringing that message through, that has really transformed the whole Women's Rights Movement in my estimation. It just cracked open the egg of possibilities for future for everybody.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([39:59](#)):

Well, it's been an honor to have this small piece of the work that we're all doing. And I want to thank both of you for all the work and dedication that you have. You inspire me.

Philip P. Arnold ([40:12](#)):

This has been a great conversation, Sally. We could go on for much longer, but we're going to draw this to an end. I hope that this is the first of others in the future in our podcast. I think, best of luck to you in all your writing and your future projects, we really respect what you do. And it's been great to have this short time to talk with you.

Sally Roesch Wagner ([40:40](#)):

Well, thank you. I really enjoyed it. And I learned.

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Philip P. Arnold ([40:44](#)):

All right. All right. Thank you.

Sandy Bigtree ([40:46](#)):

So did we.

Jordan Loewen-Colón ([40:51](#)):

We'd like to thank our guest, Sally Roesch Wagner and our hosts, Philip Arnold and Sandra Bigtree. The producers of this podcast were Adam DJ Brett and Jordan Loewen-Colón. Our intro and outro is Social Dancing Music by Orris Edwards and Regis Cook.

Jordan Loewen-Colón ([41:08](#)):

This podcast is produced in collaboration with Syracuse University Engaged Humanities and the Department of Religion. Along with Indigenous Values Initiative and the American Indian Law Alliance.